

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
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R 131055Z APR 78 ZDK DUE TO NUMEROUS SVCS
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7046
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL OSAKA KOBE
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 06402

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, JA
SUBJECT: NATIONAL IMPACT OF CONSERVATIVE VICTORY IN KYOTO

REF: OSAKA-KOBE 0357

SUMMARY: VICTORY OF CONSERVATIVE YUKIO HAYASHIDA IN
APRIL 9 KYOTO GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION (REFTEL) HAS SET OFF
NEW WAVE OF RECRIMINATIONS AND SOUL SEARCHING AMONG
DIVIDED OPPOSITION PARTIES. ALTHOUGH JAPAN COMMUNIST
PARTY WAS FORCED TO SURRENDER ITS 28-YEAR OLD HOLD OVER
KYOTO GOVERNORSHIP, BIGGER LOSER IN SUNDAY'S ELECTION WAS
JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY, WHOSE EFFORTS TO FORGE SOCIALIST-
CENTRIST COALITION FAILED MISERABLY. JSP MAY NOW FACE
RENEWED INTERNAL DEBATE OVER WHETHER TO COOPERATE WITH
COMMUNISTS OR CENTRISTS IN FUTURE CONTESTS. VICTORY,
LIKE THAT IN LAST YEAR'S UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, HAS
FURTHER BOOSTED LDP CONFIDENCETHAT IT HAS REGAINED
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POPULAR SUPPORT LOST DURING LOCKHEED SCANDAL AND LOWER
HOUSE DEFEAT IN 1976. END SUMMARY.

1. VICTORY OF LDP/NLC-BACKED YUKIO HAYASHIDA OVER JCP
CANDIDATE TOSHIMASA SUGIMURA AND JSP/CGP/DSP/SDF-SUPPORTED
YOSHIHARU YAMADA APPEARS TO HAVE HAD SMALL BUT SIGNIFICANT
IMPACT ON STRATEGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL.

ALTHOUGH KYOTO, WHERE JCP-BACKED MAYOR TORAZO NINAGAWA HAD BEEN IN POWER FOR 28 YEARS, WAS RECOGNIZED AS UNIQUE POLITICAL SITUATION, THREE-WAY RACE AMONG COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS AND CENTRISTS, AND CONSERVATIVES WAS ALSO SEEN AS TEST OF FUTURE ELECTION COOPERATION AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES, AND AS INDICATOR OF STRENGTH OF OPPOSITION AND CONSERVATIVE FORCES IN MAJOR URBAN AREAS, MOST OF WHICH WILL HOLD ELECTIONS OVER NEXT TWELVE MONTHS.

2. DEFEAT OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES HAS SET OFF NEW ROUND OF RECRIMINATION AND SOUL-SEARCHING. BY LOSING THEIR 28-YEAR OLD GRIP ON KYOTO, JCP, AT FIRST GLANCE, WOULD APPEAR TO BE BIGGEST LOSER, ESPECIALLY SINCE KYOTO DEFEAT FOLLOWED SUCCESSION OF SETBACKS IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, CONSENSUS SEEMS TO BE THAT SECOND PLACE SHOWING WAS QUITE RESPECTABLE CONSIDERING THAT JCP WAGED CAMPAIGN WITHOUT SUPPORT OF OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES; ITS CANDIDATE WAS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN ONLY TWO WEEKS BEFORE ELECTION CAMPAIGN BEGAN; AND KYOTO VOTERS WERE NATURALLY EAGER FOR CHANGE AFTER 28 YEARS OF JCP ADMINISTRATION. MOREOVER, JCP WILL BE ABLE TO BLAME DEFEAT OF ITS CANDIDATE, WHO CAME WITHIN 60,000 VOTES OF WINNING, ON ERSTWHILE OPPOSITION-PARTY PARTNERS, WHO DIVIDED TOTAL OPPOSITION STRENGTH AND PERMITTED CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE TO WIN WITH ONLY PLURALITY OF POPULAR VOTE.

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3. ON OTHER HAND, JSP, WHICH VIEWED KYOTO CAMPAIGN AS PART OF LARGER STRATEGY TO DRAW CENTRIST PARTIES, ESPECIALLY CGP, INTO CLOSER COOPERATION, APPEARS TO HAVE SUFFERED REAL SETBACK. LARGE-SCALE DEFECTION OF KYOTO SOHYO UNION VOTES, NOMINALLY COMMITTED TO JSP, TO COMMUNIST CANDIDATE HAS LEFT SOCIALISTS WONDERING WHETHER OR NOT THEY CAN RUN SUCCESSFUL LOCAL CAMPAIGNS WITHOUT SHORING UP THEIR LEFT FLANK THROUGH DEAL WITH COMMUNISTS. DEBATE ON COOPERATION WITH OTHER PARTIES MAY REOPEN INTERNAL JSP FEUD BETWEEN RADICAL LEFT-WING SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION, WHICH BACKS COOPERATION WITH JCP, AND MORE MODERATE ELEMENTS, WHO FAVOR ALLIANCE WITH CENTRISTS. ADDITIONALLY, IT HANDS NEW PARTY CHAIRMAN ASUKATA BLACK EYE AT OUTSET OF HIS CAMPAIGN TO REBUILD PARTY.

4. FOR CGP TOO, KYOTO DEFEAT WILL NECESSITATE REEXAMINING POLICY OF BROAD, NON-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION COOPERATION. CGP LEADERSHIP ENCOURAGED JSP TO RUN ITS OWN CANDIDATE AND CUT TIES WITH JCP IN EARLY STAGES OF KYOTO CAMPAIGN,

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7047

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

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AMCONSUL OSAKA KOBE

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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APPARENTLY IN HOPES OF CEMENTING ALLIANCES WITH SOCIALISTS IN YOKOHAMA, WHERE MAYORAL ELECTION TAKE PLACE NEXT WEEK, AND IN OSAKA AND TOKYO, WHICH WILL HOLD GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS NEXT SPRING. CGP MAY NOT HAVE EXPECTED VICTORY IN KYOTO, BUT MAGNITUDE OF YAMADA'S DEFEAT, DUE IN PART TO DEFECTION OF MANY OF ITS OWN CONSERVATIVE SOKA GAKKAI SUPPORTERS TO CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE, WILL RAISE QUESTIONS WITHIN PARTY CONCERNING ITS COMPATIBILITY WITH JSP. DEFEAT MAY ALSO CONVINCE CGP THAT VICTORY IN TOKYO AND OSAKA GUBERNATORIALS NEXT YEAR WILL REQUIRE COOPERATION WITH CONSERVATIVES RATHER THAN WITH LEFTISTS.

5. FINALLY, DSP, ALTHOUGH NOMINALLY SUPPORTING YAMADA, WAS ACTUALLY UNENTHUSIASTIC FROM START OF CAMPAIGN, AND MANY OF ITS SUPPORTERS VOTED FOR HAYASHIDA. DSP LEADERSHIP SEES CONSERVATIVE VICTORY AS FURTHER CONFIRMATION OF ITS PREFERRED POLICY OF COOPERATION BETWEEN CENTRISTS AND CONSERVATIVES, AND WILL USE KYOTO AS EXAMPLE IN ITS
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EFFORTS TO DRAW CGP AWAY FROM COOPERATION WITH JSP. HOWEVER, DOMEI, WHICH PROVIDES SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF DSP VOTES, WAS MORE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT YAMADA'S CANDIDACY,

AND LACKLUSTER EFFORTS ON HIS BEHALF BY DSP LEADERSHIP MAY HAVE CREATED SOME STRAIN BETWEEN TWO ORGANIZATIONS. IN SUM, KYOTO DEBACLE HAS HIGHLIGHTED PRESENT EXTRAORDINARY DISARRAY OF OPPOSITION CAMP.

6. LDP LEADERS, ON OTHER HAND, CLAIM HAYASHIDA VICTORY WAS BOTH SIGN OF LDP'S RENEWED STRENGTH IN LARGELY URBAN AREAS, AND FURTHER VINDICATION OF REVIVAL OF LDP NATIONAL ELECTORAL STRENGTH NOW THAT LOCKHEED SCANDAL HAS PASSED AND INTER-FACTIONAL STRUGGLES ARE IN ABEYANCE (NLC CONTRIBUTION TO HAYASHIDA'S VICTORY IS GENERALLY THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN MARGINAL). LDP IS ALSO CONFIDENT ITS MAN WILL WIN RACE FOR HAYASHIDA'S OLD SEAT IN UPPER HOUSE ON APRIL 23.

7. KYOTO VICTORY WAS ESPECIALLY WELCOME NEWS FOR PRIMIN FUKUDA, IN THAT IT SEEMED TO PROVIDE FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT LDP WOULD GAIN IF NATIONAL ELECTIONS WERE HELD SOON, WHILE OPPOSITION PARTIES REMAIN DISORGANIZED. WHILE NATIONAL ELECTIONS MIGHT GIVE HIM POPULAR MANDATE NECESSARY TO INSURE HIS REELECTION AT LDP PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, PRIMIN MUST STILL OVERCOME STRONG OPPOSITION TO ELECTION WITHIN LDP, AND MUST FIND JUSTIFICATION FOR DIET DISSOLUTION, NEITHER OF WHICH WILL BE EASY. MANSFIELD

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